

Text of Theses on Revolution Anniversary

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(Text) Preamble:

Forty years ago the world was shaken by the news that the workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik Party with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at its head, had overthrown the domination of capitalists and landlords in Russia and had taken over political power. The report of the guns of the revolutionary cruiser Aurora heralded on Nov. 7, Oct. 25, 1917 (Ed. Note--Nov. 7 according to present calendar, Oct. 25 according to old calendar) the onset of a new era in the history of mankind--the era of the collapse of imperialism and the consolidation of a new socialist society. The true history of human society, which had been foreseen by the genius of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, began.

The Great October Socialist Revolution arose and proved victorious as a powerful and wrathful protest of the working people against the imperialist war which had led Russia to the brink of catastrophe, against the domination of the exploiting classes--the capitalists and landlords, against the national oppression. The revolutionary working class, soldiers, seamen, and toiling peasants of Russia rose up against the oppression and coercion on the part of the capitalists and landlords. The people started a decisive battle for the establishment of a new, just social system--the soviet socialist system.

The first decrees of the October resounded over the entire world--the peace decree, the passionate appeal to struggle against the imperialist war, the appeal to the brotherhood of the working people; the land decree; the decision of the all-Russian congress of the soviets regarding the formation of the workers' and peasants' government.

Revolutions did happen in the past, too--all the turning epochs of history are illuminated by their blaze. But the revolutions of the past limited themselves to changing power between the exploiting classes; it was merely the form of exploitation that changed, whereas the exploitation itself remained. The dominant exploiting classes fiercely quelled the attempts of the working people to free themselves from the yoke of exploitation by flooding the streets of the towns and villages with the blood of workers and peasants. Firing squads executed the Paris commune supporters, who were the first in history to hoist the banner of the dictatorship of proletariat, which lasted for 72 days. The first Russian revolution of 1905 was drowned in the blood of the workers and peasants.

The October Revolution, the greatest as to scope, the profoundest as to tasks and aims, has brought about the centuries-old dreams of the working people, and announced the end of the exploitation of man by man, the end of any social and national oppression. It did not only proclaim but also brought about the great ideas of socialism, peace, equality, and friendship of peoples.

The Communist Party, faithful to the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine, implacable with regard to any varieties of revisionism, opportunism, dogmatism, and sectarianism in the workers' movement, has prepared the working class and peasantry of Russia for the resolute struggle for the new socialist life; it has worked out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, has fearlessly led this struggle, and has secured the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialist society in our country.

All other parties--the socialist revolutionaries, Mensheviks, bourgeois nationalists--which had been covering up their treachery and subservience to imperialism with phrases about democracy, have utterly failed.

All the forces of the decrepit old world came out against the newly born young soviet republic--both the internal and the external enemies, the landlords, capitalists, tsarist generals, and the imperialist governments of foreign powers. As to its scope, this was an unprecedented crusade of the imperialists against the socialist revolution. Everything had been set afoot--armed interventions of 14 states, attempts to stifle with starvation and blockade, threats and forecasts of inevitable destruction, lies and black slander from hundreds of mouths! The allies and enemies in World War I, the German, American, British, French, Japanese, and other imperialists, all united in the common endeavor to stifle the young state of workers and peasants still in its cradle so that it would not become strong and stand firmly on its own feet.

In its heroic struggle against the forces of international imperialism, the young soviet republic enjoyed warm sympathy and political and moral support from the working class, the toiling peasantry, and the progressive intelligentsia of the world. All the efforts of world reaction to halt the regular progress of history failed. The 40th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution is undeniable testimony to the invincibility of the peoples who have discarded the yoke of the exploiters and is a great triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Having brought about the socialist revolution and defended the achievements of the revolution in an unprecedentedly heavy struggle, the heroic working class of Russia became the initiator of a new life and the Soviet Union became the world's first socialist country which had laid the path to socialism for other peoples.

Already on the eve of the October Revolution in 1917 Lenin prophesized that the socialist revolution and the overthrow of the capitalists' and landlords' rule would open up a path toward an unprecedentedly rapid development of productive forces. And this is exactly the way it happened.

Contrary to the endeavors of the imperialist powers to ruin our country by military intervention and to make it regress considerably, by 1941 as a result of the rapid industrialization and the implementation of agricultural collectivization, the Soviet Union had become a mighty socialist power, having proved the indisputable superiority of the socialist system. The indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR, armed with mighty technique and their fervent Soviet patriotism, made it possible for the socialist state to play a decisive role in the shattering of fascism.

As a result of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II, alongside the USSR other socialist states emerged in Europe and Asia; they became stronger, and are now growing and developing. The great Chinese people are marching along the path of building socialism under the leadership of their class-battle hardened Communist Party. The socialist path is being confidently trod by countries which have forever discarded the yoke of capitalism: Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic, the Mongolian Peoples Republic, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Now socialism has become an invincible world system and is successfully competing with the old and obsolete system of capitalism.

Hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa, under the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution, have shaken off the chains of colonialism. The flame of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries is shooting higher. The Great October Socialist Revolution destroyed to the very foundations the reactionary legend alleging that the popular masses are incapable of managing the state.

The 40 years of the existence of the Soviet state have proved that the working masses are capable not only of destroying the old and rotten social system but also of building a new socialist system of state and society; eliminating technical and economic backwardness in a historically short space of time and creating a highly developed economy; establishing and developing the highest form of democracy--socialist democracy; establishing unprecedented relations of friendship and fraternity between different nations; and arousing millions of people to conscious historical creation.

Precisely because of this fact, by its nature and aims the October Revolution is genuinely popular and the greatest of all revolutions even witnessed in the history of mankind.

"We have the right to be proud of, and we are proud of the fact," wrote Lenin, "that we have had the good fortune to start construction of the Soviet state, thereby starting a new epoch in world history, the epoch of the rule of a new class, which is subjugated in every capitalist country and is marching everywhere toward a new life, toward the victory over the bourgeoisie, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, and toward saving mankind from the yoke of capitalism and from imperialist wars.

The 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be a bright festival of all the peoples of the USSR, of all the socialist countries, the entire world working class, and the working people of the world.

A.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR.

I.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was an unavoidable result of the development of the world system of capitalism and the extreme culmination of all its contradictions. The unprecedented development of technology and the growth of large-scale production led to an enormous increase in the productivity of human labor and the accumulation of material values, which should have raised considerably the living standards of the whole of the population.

However, under the rule of capitalist ownership over the means of production and the strong domination of the capitalist means of syndicates and banks, technical progress brought only an increase in the profits of capitalists, an increase in the inequality of ownership, and the growth of poverty and insecurity of a still larger strata of the population. Along with improvement in production, the exploitation and enslavement of the men of labor became more acute, unemployment increased, the cost of living rose, the masses were ruined, and the oppression of the monopolies on the working class, and all working people, was intensified. Capitalism periodically crushes the masses with misfortune, suffering, the horrors of crises and wars which originate from the culmination of its contradictions. All this resulted in the growth of discontent and indignation of the masses against the oppressive capitalist regime, while the enormous growth of large-scale production created material conditions for the replacement of capitalism by a new and higher social order—socialism.

Because of the inequality of the economic and political development of capitalist countries during the epoch of imperialism, the maturing of conditions for proletarian revolution occurs unevenly in various countries. From this law Lenin, in 1915, drew a conclusion of historic significance on the possibility of the victory of the socialist revolution, first of all in only a few countries, or even in one individual country, and the impossibility of its simultaneous victory in all countries.

At the beginning of the 20th century the central point of all contradictions of imperialism, and its most vulnerable link, proved to be Russia. The combination of all types of oppression--capitalist, landowner, national, and police, with the despotism of an absolute monarchy--made the position of the people's masses insufferable and made class contradictions in Russia especially acute. At the beginning of the 20th century Russia had become the center of the international revolutionary movement.

The revolution of 1905-1907 had already put an end to the relatively peaceful development of capitalism in Europe and in Asia, and signified the beginning of a period of great revolutionary storms. It represented a prologue to the victorious battles of the working class and all working people in 1917.

The world imperialist war of 1914-1918 in the course of which the imperialists slaughtered about 10 million and crippled over 20 million men, ruined and deprived millions of families of homes, and speeded up the growth of the revolutionary explosion."

"The war created a crisis of such great dimensions," wrote Lenin, "it strained to such a great extent the material and moral strength of the peoples, and it dealt such blows on the whole contemporary social organization, that mankind found itself facing a choice: either to perish or to entrust its fate to the most revolutionary class for a very speedy and radical transition to a higher method of production."

The heroic working class which had a powerful ally--the multimillion toiling peasantry--marched at the head of the revolution which was developing in Russia.

In February 1917 the tsarist absolute monarchy was swept away by the bourgeois democratic revolution. A dual authority was formed in the country, comprising the power of the proletariat and peasantry in the form of soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants' deputies, and the power of the bourgeoisie and the landowners represented by the provisional government.

Supported by the small bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks, and the socialist revolutionaries, the provisional bourgeois government continued the imperialist war and carried out an antipeople's policy. It did not want and could not give either peace, bread, or land to the people who had been suffering for a long time. Such a government could not satisfy the urgent needs of the workers and peasants.

II.

The Communist Party, the party of Bolsheviks, the Marxist party of a new type, was the leader, the inspirer, and organizer of the revolutionary masses of workers and peasants. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, having absorbed the best experience of the international workers' movement, and tempered in battles against the enemies of the workers class, the party of Bolsheviks, which, thanks to its unity, was strong and which was closely connected with the toiling masses, was the leader which proved to be capable of boldly leading the peoples of Russia to socialism.

The program of the struggle of the party for the transition from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution was represented by Lenin's well-known April theses. Trying to avoid unnecessary difficulties and sacrifices, and supported by the will and aid of the masses, the party stood for a peaceful development of the revolution. This way provided for the transition of all power to the soviets, the party's gain of the majority of the soviets, and the change of their policy in the interests of the working class.

However, due to the refusal of the Mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries to break away from the bourgeoisie and to concentrate all power in the hands of the soviets, and as a result of the fierce struggle of the capitalists and landowners for their privileges, the peaceful development of the revolution was interrupted. The firing on a peaceful demonstration of workers and peasants in July 1917 in Petrograd on orders of the provisional government signified the end of dual authority and the establishment of a single authority by the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie.

In accordance with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's advice, the party's Sixth Congress embarked on a course of preparations for an armed rising. The congress resolutely rebuffed the anti-Lenin defeatist line of Preobrazhensky, who spoke against the party's setting course to proletarian revolution, and who considered that the victory of socialism in Russia was impossible before the victory of proletarian revolution in the West. Guided by the decisions of the congress, the party carried out titanic work, organizing and combining all revolutionary popular forces which were struggling for peace, for the land, for national equality or rights, and for socialism; it channeled them into a single destination, the victory of socialist revolution.

Workers, soldiers, and peasants acquired a growing conviction from personal experience that the Bolsheviks' policy was correct. This policy indicated the only practicable way out of war and the way to peace; it demanded that power be handed over to the working people, that equality of rights of all nationalities be established, that the estates of landowners be confiscated, and that factories, works, railways, and banks be made the property of the entire people.

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This was a consistent revolutionary program which expressed the fundamental interests of workers and peasants, of the working people of all nationalities.

In reply to the just demands of the working people, the government of capitalists and landlords intensified repression of the people. Spokesmen of the bourgeoisie impudently threatened to stifle the revolution with the bony hand of famine. Capitalists began shutting down factories and works, dismissing workers, foiling the supply of food and fuel to towns. Owners of factories and works were preparing a lockout throughout Russia, a mass dismissal of workers. In the Moscow and Petrograd industrial regions alone over 75,000 workers found themselves unemployed.

The efforts of the peasants to seize the fields of the landowners were cruelly put down by punitive detachments. The violent outbreak of bourgeois-landlord reaction after the events of July and Kornilov's mutiny, which was an open attempt to set up military dictatorship in the country and to drown revolution in blood, disclosed the antipopular essence of the bourgeois temporary government and of the conciliatory policy of the socialist revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

In the interests of maintaining their own power, the capitalists and landlords were ready to sell the motherland to foreign imperialists, and they tried to crush the revolution with the help of foreign troops. The counterrevolutionaries and the traitors to the motherland were ready to make a deal with German imperialism, were preparing to surrender Petrograd to the troops of the German Kaiser in order to crush the working class and stifle the revolution.

The working masses resolutely turned toward the Bolsheviks as the only ones to express the interests of the people. Having gained a majority in the Petrograd and Moscow soviets, the party began leading the main mass of the proletariat. Most of the army, too, came over to the side of the proletarian revolution. The Bolsheviks enjoyed decisive superiority of strength in the military units stationed near the capital. The peasants' spontaneous war against the landlords was breaking out in rural areas.

Overcoming the fierce resistance of the counterrevolution, as well as of the capitulators and pusillanimous people such as Zinov'yev and Kamnev, the Communist Party organized the revolutionary forces of workers, soldiers, and peasants for a victorious armed rising. Thanks to the resolute support which popular masses gave to the revolutionary program of the Bolsheviks and the total isolation of the counterrevolutionary government, this armed rising in Petrograd was the most bloodless in the history of revolutions.

On Oct. 25--Nov. 7--1917, the workers and soldiers of Petrograd overthrew the bourgeois temporary government. The second all-Russia congress of the soviets, representing the vanguard of the proletarians and the most revolutionary portion of the peasantry, proclaimed the passing of all state power into the hands of the soviets, and formed the workers' and peasants' government, with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at its head.

The Congress adopted the historic decrees about peace and about the land. The peace decree opened a revolutionary way out of war and laid the unshakeable foundations of the soviet state's peaceful foreign policy. The centuries-old aspirations of millions of peasants for the abolition of landlordism found their expression in the land decree. The decisions of the congress on the creation of a workers' and peasants' government laid the foundations of the new soviet state.

The October Socialist Revolution which began in Petrograd was, in the main, victorious throughout the country within a few weeks. The triumphant march of soviet power was an irrefutable testimony to the truly popular character of the revolution. Hand in hand with Russian workers and peasants, working people of all the peoples and nationalities in Russia played an active part in it. As a result of the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the dictatorship of the working class was set up in our country.

III

The dictatorship of the proletariat, this new revolutionary authority, was established in Russia on the basis of an alliance between the working class and the toiling masses of the peasantry, the proletariat playing the leading role. The socialist revolution smashed the old antipopular state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and landlords and created a new apparatus of authority, expressing the vital interests of the working people.

The soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies, born of the revolutionary creation of the popular masses, became the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. Unlike bourgeois democracy, which has always been a democracy for the minority of exploiters, and which in effect remains such in all capitalist countries, the soviet rule embodies the broadest and highest form of democracy, democracy for the working people, for the overwhelming majority of the people.

Under the rule of capitalist corporations, trusts, and syndicates, coal, oil, steel, automobile, chemical, railway, and similar companies of the capitalists, there is not and cannot be a real democracy for the working people. The socialist revolution, having liquidated the rule of capital and turned the means of production into public property, created economic prerequisites for proletarian democracy. The revolution brought to the masses the main freedom, the freedom from exploitation, which forms the basis of all democratic rights and freedoms.

The radical superiority of democracy which was generated by the socialist revolution lies in the fact that the state power does not belong to the exploiters but to the workers. We have created, wrote Lenin, a soviet type of state. We have started thereby a new world-historical epoch, an epoch of the political rule of the proletariat which has come to replace the epoch of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Under soviet democracy the workers and peasants have become the masters of the entire land and its minerals, all factories and plants, coal and ore mines, railways, electric power stations, and all other means of production. No country of bourgeois democracy can do anything similar, because there the means of production serve the capitalists as a means of exploiting the popular masses.

The proletarian democracy is expressed in the active work of state and public organizations of the working people. It rejects a democracy which gives the reactionaries the freedom to smash the democratic organizations of the working people and to slander the socialist system and popular rule. Proletarian democracy, wrote Lenin, suppresses the bourgeois exploiters and therefore does not indulge in hypocrisy, (providing?) real democracy to the working people.

The socialist democracy has found its most vivid expression in the solution of the national problem. The Great October Revolution smashed the chains of national subjugation in Russia, destroyed forever national inequality, established real fraternity of all the nations, and raised the formerly subjugated people to the position of truly free peoples possessing really equal rights. The status of states was given to those peoples who had not possessed it previously and was restored to those who had lost it.

The October Socialist Revolution saved our country from the danger of being split up and enslaved by predatory foreign imperialists. It has made it a free and independent state. The soviet rule put an end to the country's economic dependence on foreign capital, nationalized all the enterprises belonging to foreign imperialists, annulled the enslaving loans, and stopped paying dividends to foreign capitalists who had been enriching themselves at the expense of the workers and peasants of Russia.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia exerted an enormous inspiring influence on the toiling masses in other countries. In every corner of the world a mighty wave of revolutionary and national liberation movements arose. However, at that time the communist parties in the West were only being born and they were still unable to lead the majority of the working class, to establish a solid union of the working class and the peasantry, and to insure the victory of the proletarian revolution in their countries. The Russian Soviet Republic remained at that time the only country of socialism and found itself in a hostile capitalist encirclement.

IV.

Having taken power into their own hands, the workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, got down to peaceful creative work. Yet the exploiting class which had been overthrown by the revolution started a civil war against the rule of workers and peasants, trying by force of arms to restore their former rule. The petty bourgeois parties of Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, which had finally joined the camp of counterrevolution, were their supporters in the struggle against the workers and peasants.

The organizer and inspirer of the armed struggle against the Soviet republic was international imperialism. The enormous revolutionizing effect of the world's first republic of workers and peasants aroused fear and anger among the ranks of world imperialism. They saw in the victory of the socialist revolution a threat to their parasitic existence, to their profits and capital, to all their privileges.

Endeavoring to choke the young Soviet republic, the imperialists, headed by the ruling circles of Britain, the United States, and France, organized military expeditions against our country. From all directions--from the north and the south, the east and the west--hordes of interventionists and the White Guard poured onto its territory, and Soviet Russia found itself within a fiery circle of fronts.

In those difficult circumstances the Communist Party and the Soviet Government called the people to a just and revolutionary fatherland war against the foreign interventionists and the internal counterrevolution. In response to the party's appeal, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants volunteered for service in the Red Army. Concerting their efforts, the hungry workers supplied the army with weapons and ammunition and the peasants gave food. The party and the Komsomol sent to the front line almost half of their members. The workers and peasants advanced from their midst talented military leaders who became legendary in the family of famous heroes. For over three years the Soviet republic opposed the mad armed attack of the allied forces of the imperialist predators and the internal counterrevolution.

Heavy sacrifices and unprecedented difficulties were borne and surmounted by the Soviet people in those days. The major towns got very little food. The workers were issued only a quarter of pound of bread daily for months on end. There was a shortage of raw materials and fuel, and what could be gathered could not be carried by the disrupted transport. The majority of enterprises idled. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people and its red army showed wonders of heroism, selfless enthusiasm, high ideology, and selfless devotion to the great ideals of socialism and defended the existence of the world's first socialist state.

All the attempts of the imperialists to eliminate the Russian breakthrough and to choke the young Soviet republic encountered a resolute opposition of the working class of foreign countries.

A movement in support of the Soviet people arose and gained ground in the capitalist countries during the foreign intervention and the civil war, and committees of action under the slogan, "Hands off Russia," were formed. The demands for returning home by the troops of the interventionists became louder while instances of refusal to fight against Soviet Russia became more frequent. The French seamen in the Black Sea started an uprising against the intervention. International battalions, fighting on the side of the Soviet troops, were comprised of Chinese, Hungarians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Finns and other foreign revolutionaries.

It was due to the influence of the great October socialist revolution that in January 1918 a workers' revolution began in Finland; in November 1918, a revolution in Germany; in March 1919, a proletarian revolution took place in Hungary; in April 1919, a Soviet republic was proclaimed in Bavaria. All these revolutionary endeavors meant a serious support for the young Soviet republic in Russia.

The workers of all countries considered the defense of the Russian Revolution as their own vital concern, as their international duty in the struggle against capitalism. This is where the strength and the effectiveness of proletarian internationalism found its vivid manifestation.

The victory of the Soviet people over the interventionists and White Guards in the civil war proved to be a major military and political defeat of world imperialism and the demonstration of the great vital force and invincibility of the young Soviet state. The victorious struggle of the Soviet people against the White Guards and interventionists has provided an objective confirmation of Lenin's prophetic statement: "Never can a people be conquered most of whose workers, and peasants have understood, felt, and seen that they are defending their own Soviet rule, the rule of the working people, that they defend a cause the victory of which will secure for them and for their children the possibility of enjoying all the boons of culture and all the products of human labor."

The building of socialism in the USSR is the principal result of the October Revolution.

V.

History has charged the heroic working class and the toiling peasantry of Russia, who overthrew the yoke of imperialism and, as Lenin put it, "who won their country from the rich for the poor," with the great mission of building the first socialist society in the world. Lacking examples and models, undaunted by hardships and difficulties, the Soviet people had been courageously advancing along the untrodden paths of the historic creation of a new life.

And it has blasted the foundation-laying (osnovopolagayushchy) path to the bright tomorrow for all mankind in having demonstrated to the whole world that the concrete, historic experience of socialist building in the USSR contains some features and laws which are pertinent to all countries in the victorious socialist revolution and the building of the new socialist society.

The program of the building of socialism has been scientifically elaborated by the leader of the party and the people-Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The Leninist teaching on the possibility of the victory of socialism first in few countries, and even in only one country, constituted the theoretical foundation of that program.

The Leninist plan for the socialist reconstruction of Russia provided for the liquidation of her technical-economic backwardness, for the creation of socialist economy, for the most progressive material-technical basis of the new society and for the transformation of the country into a mighty industrial power, and, on the basis of the growth of all the branches of economy, the achievement of a high living standard for the people.

The heart of this plan was the idea of socialist industrialization, since it was possible to reorganize all the branches of national economy, including agriculture, only on the basis of the development of heavy industry, especially of machine building, to achieve the economic might (mogushchestvo) of the state, its defense capacity (oboronospособность), and to build socialism.

Lenin attributed a special significance to the task of electrification of the country. He said: "Should Russia be covered by a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations, our communist economic building would become a model for future socialist Europe and Asia."

The socialist reform of the backward, fractioned (razdroblennoye) agriculture in a simple, easy and practicable way for the peasantry, in the way of forming voluntary producer cooperatives of the peasantry or of collectivization, and in the way of the gradual utilization in agriculture production of modern machinery, constituted a most important component part of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism.

The tasks of the cultural revolution constituted an integral part of the Leninist plan. "The training of numerous cadres of highly qualified specialists for all the departments of economy and culture, the participation of the broadest masses in science, technology, and culture, in the administration of the state," Lenin pointed out, "is the necessary prerequisite for the building of socialism."

VI.

The building of socialism was an extremely difficult task in such an economically backward peasants' country as was Russia, under the conditions of the fierce resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes within the hostile capitalist environment which sought to overthrow the Soviet rule and employed for this purpose sabotage and obstruction, organizing counterrevolutionary plots and kulak rebellions. When one speaks today of the heritage left by Tsarist Russia for the Soviet regime, one actually means that low level of economic development reached by Russia in 1913 on the eve of the First World War. But the Soviet state was actually denied even that beggarly heritage.

It was demolished and plundered by imperialists from Germany, the United States, Britain, France, Japan and other states which pulled Russia into the First World War, and after the victory of the socialist revolution forced on the young Soviet republic the civil war and rushed into its territory their interventionist armies.

The interventionists mutilated and tore to pieces the territory of the republic of soviets. Under the banner of the saving of Russia, the interventionists and White Guards plundered, pilfered and sold out her wealth. They pillaged our country. They dreamt of the splitting up of Russia and the transforming of her parts into their colonies. Although the imperialists suffered military, as well as moral and political, defeat in an open piratic war against the world's first socialist state of working people, they succeeded in causing such heavy damage to the national economy of our country that its already backward economy was retarded by a decade.

In 1920 the large-scale industry of our country produced only about one-seventh of what it had produced in 1913. The smelting of pig iron was equal to only 2.7 percent as compared with the prewar level, the output of cement 2.4 percent, soap 7.1 percent, cotton fabrics 4 percent; while the smelting of steel went down to 200,000 tons per year. At present such a quantity of steel is being produced by the Soviet Union in less than two days.

Hindering the establishment of normal relations between the USSR and other countries, organizing an economic blockade of the Soviet country, and by means of sabotage and antipeople rallies of counterrevolutionary elements, the imperialists intended to negate the building of socialism and to deprive the Soviet republic of the possibility of immediately showing the working people of the whole world the great advantages of the socialist system over capitalism.

They hoped that the Soviet country would not be able to cope with the restoration of its war-ruined economy, and, of course, would not be able to make (rapid?) progress. The Soviet people could rely only on themselves, on their strength and resources in order to overcome in a short period the unprecedented difficulties resulting from the economic decline, exhaustion, poverty and hunger and to pave the path toward socialism.

The building of socialism was also hindered by the fact that at that time the working class did not yet have at its disposal the necessary cadres of experts, and many of the old experts were hostile toward the Soviet regime. Finally, it was necessary to overcome the fierce resistance of hostile trends and groupings within the party: the Trotskyites, Bukharinists and national deviationists who were camouflaged agents of the exploiting classes which had been smashed in the interior of the country.

All these antiparty groups took a stand against the general line of the party for the building of socialism in the USSR; they sowed distrust in the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country and, in essence, pulled towards the path of restoration of capitalism. The central committee of the party headed by Lenin, and after his death by Stalin, annihilated all the antiparty groupings and united the party into a great monolithic force which led the country along the Leninist path of building socialism, confidently eliminating adversities and difficulties.

VII.

The Leninist general line of the Communist Party for the transformation of backward, agrarian Russia into a mighty industrial power, a stronghold of socialism, received active and comprehensive popular support. The liquidation of the landlord and capitalist property, and concentration in the hands of the state of the basic branches of economy made it possible to mobilize for the socialist transformation of the country mighty reserves inaccessible to capitalist countries.

The Communist Party brought to life and directed towards a single aim the powerful creative energy of working people. The Soviet people conscientiously accepted the sacrifices and serious restrictions of their material and cultural needs because they knew that there was no other way to transform their motherland in a brief period into a country with a first class socialist industry and large-scale mechanized socialist agriculture.

It was impossible to delay the industrialization. The actual situation then did not permit any delay. Either the Soviet workers and peasants had to solve the task of industrialization as quickly as possible, or the Soviet state, which was like a besieged fortress, would be crushed by a new imperialist aggression under preparation.

During the first five-year plan's the whole of our country was living in a wave of enthusiastic building of the giants of socialist industry, and mastering new machines. In a short period thousands of enterprises were created, as well as entire branches of industry which did not exist in prerevolutionary Russia. New towns and industrial centers grew up. New railways, many thousand kilometers long, were built. The lights of newly built electric power plants were lit. Pits and ore mines, blast and open hearth furnaces built by soviet people started producing coal and ore, pig iron and steel.

The successful implementation of the plans of the first five-year periods turned the Soviet country from an agrarian into an industrial country. The socialist industry was then able to manufacture all kinds of modern equipment, to supply to the country first-grade technical means, to equip the Soviet army with all kinds of up-to-date armament.

The first attempt in the world at a planned socialist transformation of the economic and cultural life of a giant country has brilliantly justified itself. The sneers of the bourgeois at the "Bolshevik economic myth", its hope that socialist industrialization would fail, changed to fear of the growing might of the USSR.

The advantages of the Soviet socialist economic system, its great viability, became apparent with exceptional vividness and impressiveness. The Soviet Union had been exerting an ever growing influence on the entire world by the rapid growth of its economy.

It was precisely at that time that the capitalist world was agonizing in the iron stranglehold of a profound universal economic crisis which led the economy of the capitalist countries to the state of utter instability and disorganization. For the United States alone the economic crisis of the years 1929-1933 cost 300 billion dollars in production losses.

The crisis led to the shrinking of industrial output in the entire capitalist world by 44 percent. Blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces were slowly going out; plants and factories stopped work; wages were falling, and some 25 million unemployed were strolling in the streets of the capitalist towns looking for work and bread. The area under cultivation was diminishing; millions of farmers were ruined. Mountains of foodstuffs were destroyed in a barbarous way, were burnt, drowned in the sea, at a time when working people were dying of starvation. All the ulcers and vices of capitalism were laid bare, and its very foundations began to shake.

The successful building of the socialist economy in the USSR on the one hand, and the devastating economic crisis in the capitalist countries, on the other, could only foreshadow the historic doom of capitalism. Agitated by class hatred for the country of socialism, fearing the rapid industrial development of the Soviet Union in sight of the successful completion of the first five-year plan, the international imperialist circles, above all, the American and British monopolists, began to give active support and arms to German fascism, considering fascism, according to a reactionary British (word indistinct), as the reliable guardian of Europe against the Communist peril.

VIII.

The most difficult task after the conquest by the working class of the political power was the bringing about of socialist reform in agriculture. This reform proceeded along the line of the merger of individual peasants farmsteads into cooperatives and the organization of large Soviet farms. The point at issue was a radical change in the centuries old economic structure, daily life, and consciousness of the million-strong masses of peasants.

The Communist Party overcame all the difficulties involved in turning the peasants farmsteads into cooperatives. The party had convinced the peasants masses that the only path leading toward a prosperous and cultural life is that of collective farming on the basis of the mechanization of agriculture.

The fierce resistance to the collectivization drive on the part of the kulaks, their attempts to organize anti-Soviet uprisings, to initiate a bloody terror against collective farm activists, party and soviet executives, confronted the Soviet state with the necessity of carrying out the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, of depriving the kulaks of the production implements and means, and giving their lands and inventory to the collective farms. The collective farming system has thus proved victorious throughout the country.

Soviet peasantry, the majority of the population, has irrevocably embarked upon the road of socialism. The victory of the collective farming system meant that in agriculture--the largest sector of the country's economy where private ownership of the means of production had prevailed in the past--public socialist ownership had become consolidated, that new socialist production relationships had come into existence. The collective farming system has proved by its entire subsequent development its superiority over small-scale, scattered, individual farming.

Simultaneously with the all-round socialist offensive on the entire front, a cultural revolution had been successfully brought about in the country. The country was covered with a wide network of schools, cultural-educational establishments, higher educational establishments. General compulsory primary education in the languages of the nationalities of the USSR was introduced.

The general cultural standard of the working people went up. Thus Lenin's foresight was confirmed by the historic experience in the USSR: Only after the proletariat has conquered the political power can it bring about the prerequisite for a rapid cultural upsurge of the entire people.

IX.

The building of socialism is for our people the principal result of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of socialism has changed the aspect of the country, has changed its economy, culture and daily life, has led to the establishment of new relationships between classes and nations.

The abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and exchange, the introduction and consolidation of the public socialist ownership meant the complete elimination of the exploitation of man by man, as well as the removal of its causes. For the first time in many millenia, the producers of the material values, the working people, were given the possibility of working not in the interest of the parasitic exploiters, but for themselves, for their own socialist society. After many centuries of economic, social and national enslavement of the majority of the people by a minority of exploiters, labor has become ruler of life and the laboring people- the workers, peasants and people's (narodnaya) intelligentsia.

The Soviet working class has grown considerably; its cultural standard has risen, as well as its production-technical qualification. From a class deprived of the means of production and forced to sell its labor to exploiters, the working class of the USSR has turned into quite a new class which owns, together with the entire people, the means of production and toils at socialist enterprises.

The Soviet toiling peasantry ceased to be a class of small private owners; it has turned into collective farm peasantry whose prosperity is based on collective labor and collective property.

A new Soviet intelligentsia has developed and grown, which came from among the workers and peasants, and which is closely connected with the people, possessing a profound understanding of the basic interests of the people and faithfully serving them.

As a result of changes in the class structure of society the alliance of the working class and the peasantry became stronger. A moral and political unity of the people unprecedented in history was created, and for the first time in history a new society which is not split into hostile classes, but which is welded by the unity of radical interests and common aims has emerged. The moral and political unity of the people became a very great motive power in the development of the socialist society.

During the progress of socialist building there was solved the historic task of liquidating the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from Tsarism which existed among the peoples of the USSR. The peoples who previously were deprived of all rights, and who were doomed to extinction by capitalism, straightened their shoulders and woke up to a new life. Bourgeois nations were transformed to socialist nations among which firm friendship and fraternal cooperation were established.

In all union republics there emerged modern industry, national cadres of the working class and the intelligentsia, and a new culture, national in form and socialist in essence. The solution of the national question in the USSR refuted for all time the century-old lie of the colonizers about the inferior peoples, and it conclusively proved that an independent historic creative work is not a possession only of chosen nations, but is available to all peoples irrespective of the color of their skin or national and racial progress.

It is necessary only to give wide opportunity for the manifestation of the creative abilities of the peoples, as was done in the USSR by the October Socialist Revolution. The Great October Socialist Revolution is the first one in history which gave the working people not only political and economic rights but material welfare as well.

It not only gave the workers and peasants freedom, but it also created conditions for constant raising of the living standards, not of only one class or part of the population, but of all working people in towns and villages. The victory of socialism led to an uninterrupted raising of the material welfare of the people's masses. Unemployment and the fear of tomorrow vanished among the working people.

The socialist state not only proclaimed but has actually implemented the right of citizens to work, education, rest and old age security. The socialist order has not only emancipated women and given them full equality in political and social life, giving them wide opportunities for active participation in social work and the education of the young, but it also raised the dignity of motherhood.

It brought about radical changes in the position of youth, opening to the youth of all nationalities a wide path for acquiring knowledge and production qualifications, a path leading to constructive work, daring and heroic deeds.

The bourgeois ideologists cherished a hope that the building of socialism would fail because of the eternal nature of man who, in essence, is allegedly an individualist and an enemy of the collective forms of life. The bourgeoisie and its philosophers denied the possibility of creating a new socialist morale which is based on cooperation and mutual aid of people free from exploitation.

The actual reality made these wicked fabrications of the advocates of the old regime collapse. Having accomplished a majestic transformation in the social life of the people, the socialist revolution in a natural way originated deep changes in their consciousness, in their morals and in their attitude toward society and toward each other.

The most important manifestations of the new spiritual aspect of Soviet man are Soviet patriotism and a socialist attitude toward work and public property. This new attitude toward work and society has led to the creation of socialist competition, a phenomenon unprecedented in the old world, whose goal is to augment public wealth and raise labor productivity. The emergence of socialist competition is a sign of a very great change in the history of mankind. Labor, which for many millenniums had been regarded by men as a heavy and dishonorable burden, has become a matter of honor, which confirms man's dignity.

Peaceful socialist construction in the USSR was interrupted by the treacherous military attack by imperialist fascist Germany, which relied on the military potential of almost the whole of occupied Europe. War brought incalculable calamities to our people, but at the same time it confirmed the solidarity and invincibility of the new socialist society created in the USSR, the unsurmountable strength of the spirit of the new man, born to socialism and educated by the Communist Party.

B. :

The heroic deeds of the Soviet people in the Great Fatherland War.

X.

The second world war was unleashed by German fascism. But it was merely the most ferocious and rapacious segment of world imperialism, a social system which as a whole bears responsibility for the fact that tens of millions of people perished in the war, for the incalculable sufferings of hundreds of millions of working people, for their tears and blood, for the destruction of enormous material and cultural riches created by the labor of many generations.

It was the imperialists in the United States, Britain, and France who, contrary to the national interests of their peoples, spent many billions of dollars helping the German monopolists nurture Hitlerism and arm the fascist hordes. It was they who encouraged the Hitlerite aggressors in their claims to Austria and Czechoslovakia, forcing them nearer and nearer to the Soviet frontiers, and rejected all the proposals of the Soviet Union about united resistance to the fascist aggressors.

Even when it became clear that the Hitlerite hordes constituted a deadly threat to the freedom and independence of all peoples--since even before her attack on the Soviet Union Hitlerite Germany had enslaved 11 European countries, including France, whose army had at one time been regarded as the strongest in Europe--when the threat of complete defeat hung over Britain, even then the imperialists did not abandon the hope of improving their situation at the expense of the Soviet Union then subjected to attack.

Imperialists in the United States, Britain, and France reckoned that their German competitors would be weakened in this destructive war, that the Soviet Union would be destroyed or bled white, and that they would dictate the conditions of peace both to the victor and the vanquished. In effect things turned out differently.

The Great Fatherland War showed the profound far-sightedness of our party, which in good time embarked upon a course to speed up the pace of socialist transformation of the country. It was thanks to the fact that industrialization of the country's collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution were carried out in unprecedentedly brief periods of time under the party's leadership that the Soviet Union proved capable of withstanding the onslaught of fascist Germany and her allies. Responding to the call of the party, the Soviet people rose up in the Great Fatherland War and, by their heroic struggle, wrecked all the plans and calculations of the Hitlerite invaders and their inspirers.

The Fatherland War was the hardest and fiercest of all the wars ever experienced by our motherland. The Soviet people experienced particularly hard trials at the beginning of the war when the Hitlerite army, armed to the teeth, possessing two years' war experience and leaning on the economy of almost the whole of Europe, together with its allies suddenly attacked our country and, utilizing its temporary superiority, forced our troops to fight hard withdrawing actions.

The enemy armies broke through to the country's vitally important centers. A deadly danger hung over our motherland. However, the hard trials did not break the fighting spirit of the Soviet armed forces nor did they shake our people's steadfastness and boundless faith in the victory of their righteous cause. By the people's efforts and under the leadership of the Leninist party, the country was turned into a single fighting camp.

In the enemy's rear, Soviet patriots organized a mighty partisan movement. Even in the first fierce battles the Soviet troops wrecked Hitler's plans for a blitzkrieg and inflicted heavy casualties on the fascist armies. The crushing of Hitlerite troops before Moscow in December 1941 was the first major defeat suffered by the fascist armies in World War II. A year later, in the flames of the great battle of Stalingrad, mankind saw the glimmering of the dawn of victory over fascism.

The peoples in all countries enslaved by the Hitlerites or facing the threat of enslavement looked with great hope on the heroic struggle of the Soviet people and their armed forces; they saw in the Soviet Union the decisive force capable of stopping and crushing the fascist hordes, of delivering mankind from the brown plague, and of saving world civilization.

The United States and Britain concluded an agreement with our country on common action in the war against Germany. First of all, they pledged themselves to open the second front in West Europe against the German fascist hordes as early as 1942. Had these pledges been carried out, fascism would have ended considerably earlier; millions of lives and billions of material and cultural riches would have been preserved.

However, unlike the Soviet Union, which, under the most difficult conditions, did everything in its power to facilitate the actions of the allies and speed up victory, the governments of the United States and Britain put off opening the second front under all kinds of pretexts.

The Soviet people, their armed forces, and their partisans, operating actively in the enemy's rear, bore all the main burden of the struggle against the Hitlerite hordes. In battles of a scale never seen before, fought from the Barents to the Black Sea, the Soviet Army exhausted the enemy and, after the battle of Belgorod and Kursk in the summer of 1943, began chasing the fascist armies westward from its country, dealing powerful blows which crushed the enemy's manpower and equipment.

When it became clear that the Soviet Army could crush fascist Germany alone and bring freedom to the enslaved peoples of Europe, the United States and Britain landed their troops in France in June 1944. Even afterwards, however, the main preoccupation of the American and British imperialists was not with advancing on Germany from the west, but penetrating into the Balkans where the peoples of Yugoslavia and the other Balkan countries, leaning on the victories of the Soviet armed forces, were waging successful struggle against the fascists and their accomplices.

As a result of these tactics of our allies, the German command, without taking troops from the Soviet front, was able to break through the Anglo-American front in the Ardennes with comparatively weak forces in December 1944 and threaten the Anglo-American troops with utter defeat.

Britain's Prime Minister Churchill at that time sent an anxious message to the head of the Soviet Government, J.V. Stalin, in which he asked that a new advance be undertaken on the Soviet-German front in order to ease the difficult position of the Anglo-American troops.

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In spite of the fact that the Soviet Army had only just completed a great winter offensive and the weather at the front was extremely unfavorable, J.V. Stalin, on the very next day, Jan. 7, 1945, reported that, taking the position of the allies on the Western front into account, the supreme headquarters had decided to speed up preparations and open large-scale offensive operations against the Germans along the whole central front not later than the latter half of January, regardless of the weather. A week later the Soviet troops launched an offensive from the Carpathians to the Baltic and forced the German command to withdraw some troops from the west in order to save their eastern front from utter defeat.

On Feb. 23, 1945, Winston Churchill wrote to J.V. Stalin: "The Red Army is celebrating its 27th anniversary with a triumph which has evoked the boundless admiration of its allies and which has decided the fate of German militarism. Future generations will acknowledge their debt to the Red Army as unconditionally as we who are witnesses of these magnificent victories. The American and British soldiers and the peoples of these countries watched with admiration the last decisive offensive of the Soviet Army which, in conjunction with the action of the troops of the United States and Britain, compelled fascist Germany to capitulate unconditionally."

Through the joint efforts of the allies the armed forces of imperialist Japan were also soon routed. An enormous contribution to the victory over imperialist Japan was made by the heroic Chinese people, who for many years fought against the attack of the Japanese aggressors. Having dealt a crushing blow in August 1945 to the hand-picked troops of imperialist Japan, which had her forces concentrated in northeastern China, the USSR armed forces fulfilled their international duty and with their blood sealed the unbreakable fraternal alliance of the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

XI.

In the years of the Great Fatherland War Soviet workers, collective farmers, and intelligentsia performed unprecedented and heroic deeds. Under difficult wartime conditions they did magnificent work in switching over the national economy to a wartime footing. They evacuated industrial enterprises from the proximity of the frontline to the rear. They organized mass production of tanks, aircraft, guns, mortars, and other types of armament and insured a supply of munitions and arms to the front.

In the years of the Fatherland War the Soviet people proved themselves to be a truly heroic people. The working people of our country were filled with one single desire: everything for the front, everything for victory. In the colossal military struggle the forces of fascist aggression were defeated by the Soviet socialist state order which was born of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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Socialist ideology, which is the most progressive in the world, won the victory. During the years of the war the advantages of the Soviet regime over the capitalist system were clearly manifested. The socialist economic system and the moral and political unity of Soviet society based on the unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasantry, as well as the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, provided the Soviet Union with an inexhaustible source of strength.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the inspirer and organizer of the victory over fascist Germany and imperialist Japan. The party sent millions of its best sons to the front. They inspired the Soviet soldiers by their selfless performance of military duty and they were the heart and soul of the military units and formations! The prestige of communists grew very high. The soldiers of the Soviet Army considered it a great honor to go into battle as party members.

Despite severe losses at the front, the membership of the party increased during the war by 1.6 million. Throughout the entire war the party explained the just nature of the war and its noble aims. It united and directed the efforts of the people. Owing to the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee, the Soviet people emerged victorious from the war.

XII.

Mankind will never forget the great military and labor deeds of the Soviet people and their armed forces during the Fatherland War, the war against fascism. The Soviet armed forces fulfilled with honor their mission of liberation and saved the peoples of many countries from fascist enslavement. The victorious offensive of the Soviet troops was carried out in close liaison with the national liberation movements of the peoples of the countries under (Hitlerite?) occupation. Together with the Soviet troops, a fierce struggle against the German fascist invaders was waged by the Czechoslovak corps, Polish, Yugoslav, and Albanian partisans, and later Romanian and Bulgarian divisions. Their wartime cooperation is sealed with blood shed in the joint battle.

A considerable contribution to the war effort in the rout of fascist Germany was made by the peoples of Britain, France, the United States, and other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. The victorious end of the Great Fatherland War meant the complete collapse of the second imperialist military invasion of our motherland. It exerted a profound influence on the future course of historic development. The consequences of this victory have no equal in any past war of liberation.

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As a result of the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism, the prestige of the Soviet Union and its role in settling international problems has grown immeasurably. The rout of the reactionary forces which supported the Hitlerite invaders created conditions for the establishment of a people's democratic regime in a number of countries, and had a powerful effect on the launching of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. As a result, the forces of socialism and democracy have grown considerably in size and strength, while the positions of imperialism and reaction have been reduced and weakened.

XIII.

Having routed the fascist aggressors and upheld their freedom and independence, the Soviet people had an opportunity to resume communist construction. The German invaders inflicted incalculable damage on the Soviet economy. Some 1,710 towns were destroyed, as well as over 70,000 villages and hamlets. Nearly 32,000 industrial enterprises were blown up or burned down; metallurgical plants which before the war accounted for 60 percent of all steel output and collieries which produced over 60 percent of all coal were put out of commission.

Agriculture suffered colossal losses. The invaders pillaged and plundered 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 state farms and 2,890 MTS. The net loss due to direct destruction alone amounted to 679 billion rubles. Yet the greatest loss of the entire Fatherland War was the loss of millions of Soviet people.

Having suffered as great losses as the Soviet society, any bourgeois state, even the largest of all, would have experienced a heavy setback and fallen prey to other imperialist states. The politicians and ideologists of imperialism in the United States and the West European countries hoped that such would be the fate of the Soviet Union. These calculations, however, went by the board. Despite all intrigues of imperialist reaction and its attempts to retard the economic development of our socialist state, the working people of the USSR have consolidated the victory of the new social regime, inspired its further strengthening and development, and created conditions for a successful advance toward communism.

C.

Results of socialist construction in the postwar period and the tasks of the Soviet people in the struggle for communism.

XIV.

Just as during the difficult war years the socialist order of our country, having availed itself of its inexhaustible opportunities and possibilities, demonstrated its decisive advantages over capitalism in organizing wartime economy and mobilizing resources for final victory, so during the postwar years it has given our motherland the opportunity to rapidly heal the heavy wounds inflicted by war, and reconstruct and confidently advance all branches of the national economy.

Within a short period, thanks to their efforts and great energy, the Soviet people have reconstructed the factories and plants destroyed by the enemy, as well as power stations and mines, collective farms, MTS and state farms, towns and villages of the Russian federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Moldavia. The largest industrial giants--Zaporozhstal, the Kramatorsky machine building works, the Stalingrad and Kharkov tractor works--have risen from ashes. Once again the lights have come on in the Dnepr GES, this first product of the five-year plans. The hero-towns Leningrad and Stalingrad, Sebastopol, and Odessa have grown and become more beautiful than ever. Simultaneously, new factories, power stations and mines, new modern towns and townships have been springing up.

The successfully completed fourth and fifth five-year plans made it possible for the Soviet Union to appreciably surpass prewar production. By the end of the first postwar decade, 1956, our country's output was 3.5 times greater than in 1940. The total volume of industrial output in 1957 exceeds the 1913 level by 33 times, while the output of the means of production, as compared with 1913, has increased 74-fold. Particularly rapid is the pace of development in the Soviet machine tool and metal working industry, where, compared with 1913, output will have increased 200 times by the end of 1957.

As a result of the preferential speedy development of heavy industry, the ratio of the output of the means of production in the general volume of industrial output in 1956 amounted to more than 70 percent compared with 33 percent in 1913. On this basis possibilities have been created for the simultaneous development of the production of consumer goods. As compared with 1913, the volume of production of consumer goods will increase 13 times in 1957, while the range of consumer goods will increase and quality will improve. On the basis of the industrial and technical power of the country, the Soviet people each year are making better and fuller use of their countless economic reserves and natural wealth.

Our agriculture has also radically changed. Instead of the 25 million small peasant holdings which existed in the USSR on the eve of collectivization, there are now large collectives equipped with modern machinery. By the beginning of 1957 Soviet agriculture had 1,577 million tractors (in 15 horsepower units); 385,000 grain combines; 631,000 trucks, and millions of other agricultural machines. Socialist changes have made it possible to cut the number of people engaged in agriculture while considerably raising the volume of output. As compared with 1913, the areas sown under all crops increased more than one and one-half times, including wheat almost twofold, technical crops 2.7 times, and cotton and sugar beet threefold. Not only have the areas under cultivation been expanded, but the standard of agriculture and the harvest yields have also grown.

Soviet science has made a great contribution to the technical progress of our country. Soviet scientists have shown their ability to solve the most complex scientific-technical tasks within the shortest possible time.

The outstanding achievements of Soviet scientists in the fields of mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry, and electronics have made it possible to solve successfully the most complex problems connected with the development of power engineering, machine building, metallurgy, radiotechnology, automation, and telemechanics, to introduce the newest techniques into production, and to evolve highly effective technological processes. The world's first atomic power station has been operating in the USSR since 1954 and the building of a new atomic power station is now in progress. The world's most powerful accelerator, the synchrophasotron, has been built. One of the greatest successes of Soviet science and technology is the creation of intercontinental ballistic rockets and the means to launch them.

Thanks to the heroic labor of the Soviet people, led by the fighting vanguard of the people, the Communist Party, our country has become economically one of the most powerful states in the world. In world industrial production the Soviet Union's share increased from 2 to 3 percent in 1917 to about one-fifth at present. As far as the volume of industrial output is concerned, the USSR has now emerged as first in Europe and second in the world.

The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries shows that in socialism, which is free from the crises and shortcomings of capitalism, production develops much quicker than in capitalism.

Thanks to the advantages of a socialist system the Soviet Union is speedily catching up with the most developed capitalist countries as far as production per capita is concerned. In 1913 per capital industrial production in our country was 13 to 14 times lower than in the United States; in 1927 it was 6.5 times lower, and at present it is only 2.6 times lower than in the United States. Thus, our country's lag behind the United States, as far as industrial output per capita is concerned, has fallen in the years of the Soviet regime by five times. This confirms how profoundly right Lenin was in his foresight when he said that we shall manage to catch up with other countries at a speed which they have not even dreamed of.

XV.

Socialism has opened up the broadest possibilities for the steady growth of the material and cultural standard of the people's life. The further improvement of the welfare of all the categories of working people is the most important result of the postwar development of Soviet society. As in the prewar years, there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. This year the average number of workers and employees in Soviet economy will amount to over 52.5 million, that is, over four times more than in 1913. As a result of the building of socialism the Soviet Union has put an end to the plight of the great masses of workers and peasants which existed in tsarist Russia. In the years immediately preceding World War II and in the postwar years the real wages of workers and employees has been steadily growing.

At present, the material well-being of the working people, taking into account free education, free medical services, pensions, bonuses, and other state grants and privileges, as well as the reduction of the working day, exceeds by several times the 1913 level. At the same time, the rural income of the toiling peasants has increased incomparably since the prerevolutionary period. During recent years the wages of the low-paid workers and employees have been raised, the old age and disability pensions of the working people have been considerably increased, maternity leaves have been extended, the fees at the higher educational establishments and secondary schools have been abolished, the volume of consumption has grown everywhere. Soviet people now eat better, dress better, and live by a higher cultural standard.

The socialist revolution has liquidated the well-to-do classes' monopoly on education. The ignorance and lack of education of the toiling people now belong to the remote past. All the necessary conditions for the training of children and youth in secondary and higher educational establishments have been brought about.

At present over 50 million people are engaged in some kind of training. Over 4 million students are undergoing training at higher educational establishments and technical schools as against 182,000 in 1913.

The spiritual wealth of Soviet society has been constantly growing during the postwar period. Literature and art are developing along the positive line which reflects the wealthy spiritual features of the Soviet man, the builder of communism, his high ideological standard and humanism, and they play an important part in the communist education of the working people.

The production, scientific-technical, and practical experience of the workers and peasants has grown immeasurably. Over 6 million specialists with higher and special secondary education are at present employed in the national economy, whereas in 1913 their number amounted to less than 200,000. Some 240,000 scientific workers are now occupied at the higher educational establishments and scientific establishments, almost 24 times as many as under tsarism.

In 1957 alone the country has been supplied with over 770,000 specialists with higher and special secondary education. The development of specialists with higher education has increased, as compared with the prerevolutionary period, by 21 times. No capitalist country equals such a pace in the training of cadres. This is admitted even by the ill-wishers of the Soviet Union. The existence of numerous qualified scientific and technical cadres makes it possible to solve the most important problems of science and technology at a more rapid rate than in the wealthiest capitalist countries.

The medical services accorded the population have radically improved. In prerevolutionary Russia there was one physician for every 10,000 people, but in the USSR there are now 17 physicians for every 10,000, which is more than in the United States. There were 13 hospital beds for every 10,000 of the population, but at present there are 70. Medical services to the population are free. An allowance is paid to workers and employees in case of sickness.

The health of the population has sharply improved and mortality dropped because of the higher living standards of the wide masses and the fruitful work of the Soviet system of health services. In tsarist Russia the mortality rate was double that of the United States and Britain and one and one-half times that of France, but now the mortality rate in the USSR is considerably lower, and the natural growth of the population is greater than in these countries.

The average life expectancy of USSR inhabitants has sharply increased over the prerevolutionary period.

Our towns and villages are organizing their amenities services (blagoustraivayutsa). In spite of the immense destruction caused by World War I, the civil war and, especially, by World War II, by 1956 the municipal housing fund had increased by 3.7 times over 1913. The share paid for rent from the workers' expenditure has decreased more than five times as compared with that paid before 1917. In prerevolutionary Russia, as now in capitalist countries, workers spent one-fifth to one-third of their wages in rent. Now, in the USSR, these expenses amount to an average of one-twentieth of a working family's budget.

The Soviet state spends huge sums on payment of various grants, pensions, allowances, free tickets to sanatoriums and rest homes, or free education in all educational establishments, on free medical services, and so on.

For 1956 alone, these payments and grants amounted to 169 billion rubles. In 1957, the annual payments to the population will be increased at least to 192 billion rubles.

The colossal force of socialism and its superiority over capitalism is embodied in the tempestuous development of the national economy and in the steady improvement of prosperity and cultural and living standards of the Soviet people. In our country, national income is growing considerably faster than in capitalist countries. Here it is distributed in the workers' interests. Three-quarters of the national income is spent on their personal requirements, while in capitalist countries more than half of national income is appropriated by the exploiting classes.

In the USSR there are no economically underdeveloped national border-lands (okrainy), with no political rights as there were in Tsarist Russia. There are union and autonomous republics, national oblasts, okrugs and rayons with equal rights. They have a developed industry and a large-scale, collective socialist agriculture. Unprecedented changes have taken place also in the culture of formerly oppressed peoples. They have raised their culture to a high level. And even those of them which in the past did not have their own written language now take part in the advancement of science and technology. They have created their own art and literature--national in form and socialist in content.

The abolition of all forms of oppression, of class and national oppression, is the greatest conquest of socialism. All Soviet people, irrespective of their sex and nationality, are equal in their social and personal rights and civic duties.

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Socialism is the first step of the communist society, the building of which is the ultimate aim of the struggle of the working class and all the workers. "Beginning socialist changes," said Lenin, "we must have clearly before us the aim to which these changes are in the end directed. That is the aim of the setting up of a communist society which does not limit itself only to the expropriation of factories, enterprises, land and production means, which does not limit itself to the strict calculation and control of production and distribution of products, but which goes further towards the implementation of the principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

Socialism guarantees an increasingly fuller satisfaction of the growing needs of members of society, but is at the same time not yet free from the remnants of the past. Socialist production forces and productivity of labor are not yet up to such a standard as to create an abundance of material wealth so that society may be able to put into effect the principle of communism. There still exist certain inconsistencies between the growing demands of the population and the presently achieved possibilities of meeting these demands. These inconsistencies are being solved, and will continue to be solved, by means of a steady development and perfection of the material-technical foundation of communism.

The process of reeducating people is taking place in socialism as well as making all able-bodied citizens used to creative, comradely united labor, freeing them from views and habits inculcated by the exploiters regime, from the remnants of capitalism. As a result of this, labor, which in full communism will become not only obligatory for all people, but also their primary vital need, and will give pleasure, in socialism still remains primarily a means to exist. In socialism, therefore, products are being distributed, not according to needs, but according to the quantity and quality of labor given to society by each individual.

On the basis of socialism Soviet society has all the necessary conditions for moving ahead toward communism. Firstly, in socialism the material production basis necessary to achieve an abundance of consumer goods is developing and growing. Such a basis is large-scale machine building in towns and villages based on the electrification of the whole country, on the complex mechanization and automation of production, the all-round utilization of chemistry in production processes, on the wide use of atomic power in the most important branches of national economy. In all this socialism guarantees a steady technical progress and a corresponding raising of the cultural-technical level of all the working people.

In conditions of socialism the creative activity of the million-strong masses of people finds its expression in socialist competition directed towards the further upswing of economy, the wide introduction of new technique in all branches of national economy, the completion of the sixth five-year plan ahead of schedule. The party ardently appeals to all the working people for a further development of socialist competition, for it is a reliable guarantee for new successes of our motherland in its victorious move along the path to communism.

XVII.

The building of a communist society in our country is now no longer a distant aim but the immediate practical aim of the entire present day activity of Soviet people and their leading force--the CPSU. The Soviet people are now confronting the majestic tasks--the creation of the material-technical foundation of communism, the task of catching up with and overtaking within the shortest possible time the most developed countries of capitalism in the per capita production of the population.

An important landmark in the struggle for the solution of this task was the 20th CPSU Congress. The Congress made a profound analysis of the international and internal situation, raised and solved a number of most important problems of Marxist-Leninist science which are of paramount importance for understanding the ways and prospects for the development of society in its present phase.

The Congress pointed out that the most important task is the necessity to continue with all persistence the struggle for the solution, by means of peaceful economic competition in the historically shortest possible time, of the main economic task of the Soviet Union, consisting of catching up and overtaking on the basis of the advantages of a socialist system of economy the most developed capitalist countries as far as per capita production is concerned. The decisions of the Congress form a concrete program of communist construction in its present phase.

The sixth five-year plan puts forward the task of achieving on the basis of the preferential development of heavy industry, steady technical progress and increase in labor productivity of labor, a powerful upsurge of all branches of the national economy, a sharp increase of agricultural production, and of achieving on this basis, a new and considerable raising of the material well-being and cultural standard of the Soviet people.

The fundamental reorganization of the management in industry and building carried out by the party and government is of exceptional importance for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and for a steady advance of the Soviet country towards communism. This reorganization constitutes a further creative development of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in the management of the economy. It will enable the centralized state leadership of the national economy to improve its local role and initiative, increase the masses' activity by removing departmental barriers in solving economic questions.

The reorganization of management facilitates the integrated development of the economy in the economic areas, specialization, as well as rationalization of production both between economic areas and within a single area. The new system of management in industry and building enhances the sense of responsibility of senior personnel in the field and at headquarters; brings leadership closer to production; removes superfluous layers of the managerial structure; strengthens ties between science and industry; enables men of science and industry to introduce the products of their research more courageously into industry and agriculture.

All this makes it easier to reveal the tremendous internal resources dormant within the national economy, and to use to a fuller extent these reserves and the natural wealth in the interest of the people and in the interest of stepping up the country's pace toward communism.

During 1954-56, important measures designed to raise agricultural production sharply were carried out. Of particular importance was the decision of the party and government to develop virgin and long fallow land, strengthen collective farms and MTS with cadres of leader-specialists, introduce new methods of planning in agriculture, increase purchase and delivery prices for agricultural produce and introduce monthly advances to collective farmers. These steps have released local initiative, enhanced material interestedness of collective farms and farmers in increasing the output of agricultural produce, and insured the first great successes in solving the task of sharply raising agricultural production.

The development of the virgin and long fallow land represented a deed of heroism on the part of the Soviet people. Hundreds of thousands moved in on the virgin land. In two years, more than 250,000 young patriot members of the Komsomol alone went to work there. On the vast and rough spaces of Kazakhstan, the Urals, Siberia and the Volga region, there emerged hundreds of new state farms and MTS. Trainloads of tractors, combines and other equipment were moving eastwards in an endless stream.

In two years, 35.9 million hectares of virgin and long fallow land have been brought under the plow. During the same period, the area under cultivation increased in the USSR by almost 38 million hectares, and amounted in 1956 to nearly 195 million hectares. As a result of developing virgin and long fallow land, in 1956 our country received over one million additional poods marketable grain. Output of cattle fodder also increased considerably. The development of virgin land will continue over the coming years, thus broadly increasing the wealth in the country.

Based on the experience of advanced collective farms, the party issued a bold call to the toilers of socialist agriculture to catch up with the United States in the next few years in per capita production of milk, meat and butter. This appeal has brought forth a new mighty upsurge of creative energy of the millions. This is born out by the sharp increase in the output of livestock produce on collective and state farms this year. The increased output enabled us to stockpile in 1957 considerably more livestock produce than in 1956. By Sept. 1 this year, 624,000 tons more meat (38 percent) and 2,419,000 tons more milk (19 percent) were produced.

Such a rate of increase in the output and deliveries of livestock produce creates the confidence that within a short period we shall catch up with the United States in per capita output of the major livestock produce, which will help to raise sharply the consumption level at home. The growth of the marketable produce on collective and state farms allowed the Soviet state to cancel as from 1958, the obligatory deliveries of agricultural produce from individual plots of collective farmers and allotments of workers and employees.

The further development of virgin and long fallow land, the extension of areas under cultivation, increase of crop yields and improvement in the use of land all over the country, the increase in cattle and their productivity, higher labor productivity, and lower production costs of agricultural produce on the basis of integrated mechanization--such are the main tasks facing agriculture at the present stage of building communism in our country.

It is known that the main source of increased industrial and agricultural output and improved material well-being lies in the increased labor productivity. The growth of labor productivity in industry is provided for by the sixth five-year plan to the amount of at least 50 percent, while it is planned to reduce production costs by at least 17 percent. All this will allow a rise in the real wages of workers and office workers by approximately 30 percent, and the payments in kind and money to collective farmers by at least 40 percent.

Over the years, working hours on the eve of holidays and days off have been cut by two hours in the USSR, and, the duration of shifts for certain categories of workers and adolescents has been reduced to six hours. Continuous perfection of production on the basis of advanced technology and better organization of the process of production, further mechanization of labor and increased labor productivity will enable a gradual transition during the sixth five-year plan to a seven-hour working day, thus making available additional time essential for the many-sided development of the Soviet man.

Despite the wide scale of the housing program in the USSR, the need for new houses in the postwar period were by no means met. This was due to a tremendous increase in the urban population caused by industrialization of the country. The results of the World War II which brought vast destruction of private dwellings and industrial constructions, also made themselves felt. It was essential in the first place to reconstruct the industry. The improvement of the living conditions of the working people is a foremost task.

The improvement of the housing conditions of working people is the first and foremost task. In the sixth five-year plan, at the expense of the state, or aided by it, dwelling houses covering a total area of over 328 million square meters will be built. This is double the housing areas built during the fifth five-year plan. The party and the government have set the task of putting an end, in 10 to 12 years, to the housing shortage in our country. The solution of this task is one of the principal cares of the party and government.

XVIII.

The Soviet state, representing the highest form of democracy, a democracy for the people, is in the process of constant development. It is developing together with the steadily growing political and social activities of the popular masses. In the elected organs of the Soviet power, in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the supreme soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, in the local soviets of workers' deputies, more than 1.5 million deputies are at work. All of them are workers from factories and socialist fields, men of science and culture, employees of state and public organizations. The organs of the Soviet power work on the basis of constant and daily support of the electors. In 1956, 240,000 standing commissions were active in the local soviets, embracing about 1.5 million working people.

Bright evidence of genuine democracy (demokratism) of the Soviet order is the active participation of the masses in the discussions and solution of the most important questions of the political, economic and cultural life of the country. More than 40 million working people took part in the meetings devoted to the discussion of the further improvement in the management of industry and construction.

Many draft laws of great significance for the life of the people become laws only after a nation-wide discussion. Our laws embody the collective wisdom and will and collective experience of million-strong masses. The party and the government constantly consult the people in the solution of the urgent questions of communist construction. The people's masses under socialist conditions act as conscious and active creators of a new life.

The growth of the economy and culture of the union republics and the new tasks of communist construction, required a considerable extension of the rights of the union republics in the management of their economics. A great number of enterprises and whole branches of industry, which formerly were under the all-union organs, have now been handed over to the direct control of union republics. The rights of the union republics regarding state planning and finance in the field of jurisdiction and administration, and in the sphere of cultural construction, have been widened. All these important measures create still greater opportunities for the development of the initiative and creative forces of all the republics and all the peoples of the USSR, and strengthen their friendship and fraternal cooperation.

The Communist Party is waging, and will wage, a resolute struggle for a still greater enlistment of the popular masses in the active participation in the administration of the state, in the management of the economic and cultural construction, against bureaucracy, and for the reduction in the administrative and management apparatus. The party is striving to enhance the role and activity of all links of the socialist state, of all mass organizations of the working people: soviets, trade union, Komsomols, and others. It resolutely struggles for overcoming views concerning work and public property alien to socialism; it raises public opinion against all manifestations of bourgeois voices.

One of the most important forms of expression of socialist democracy (demokratism) is criticism and self-criticism. By criticism and self-criticism, the party and the Soviet people reveal and overcome the shortcomings in the life of the socialist society, and accelerate its advances. The lessons of history teach that a proletarian dictatorship state is the main weapon in the hands of the people for the creation of a new socialist society. Soviet society under present conditions is still in need of a strong people's state for the protection of the gains of socialism against the foreign enemies and for leadership in communist construction.

Communism is the bright morrow of all mankind. The building of communism is the final goal of the Communist Party. In the condition of a communist society class differences will completely disappear and means of production will become a single communist form of ownership, while social production, developing on the basis of higher technology, will fully satisfy the requirements of all members of the society.

"Communism," Lenin taught, "is superior to capitalism (in that labor productivity results from voluntary, conscious, and united workers using an advanced technology?")

In communism people will be given every opportunity to develop their all-round physical and mental capacities. The substantial differences between mental and physical labor, between town and village will be eliminated. Everyone will work according to his capacities and will receive according to his needs, and work will give a personal pleasure.

An indispensable condition for new successes in the building of a communist society is the leadership of the Communist Party, its monolithic unity, its link with the masses.

The Communist Party is the leader, inspirer and organizer of the victories of the Soviet people.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the entire rich experience of the victorious building of socialism and communism in the USSR convincingly show that the decisive condition for the fulfillment by the working class of its world-historic mission--the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of a new communist society--is the leading role of its vanguard, the Communist Party. Without the party which, unites in its rank everything that is progressive, bold, heroic and selfless in the working class and the people, without the party, which is strong by its Marxist-Leninist theory, the iron unity of its ranks and the closest link with the broad people's masses, the working class cannot be victorious. Without a party which enjoys a high moral authority, the love, confidence and respect of tens and hundreds of millions of working people ready to follow it in the battle to the end, supporting the party's slogans, ventures and policy, without such a great party created and reared by Lenin the workers and peasants of Russia would have been unable to overthrow Tsarism, to overthrow Russian capitalism, to conquer and keep their Soviet regime--the dictatorship of the working class--to repulse the fierce attacks of the internal counterrevolution and foreign interventionists, the imperialist aggressors. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party, armed with the correct compass of Marxism-Leninism, leading the entire Soviet people towards the united great aim could a socialist society have been built. The solution of this world-historic task had objectively put the Soviet people in the vanguard of progressive mankind.

Leninism teaches that the more complex, more difficult and majestic are the tasks which are to be solved, the more profound is a revolutionary upheaval; the broad people's masses must be aroused, put into action, organized, inspired and their will directed toward victory.

The October Socialist Revolution is therefore the greatest of all revolutions because it was called upon for the first time in world history to carry out the most profound, the most difficult revolutionary transformation in the life of broadest people's masses. And these working masses, headed by the working class had to be enlightened, educated, put into action and led in the great battle for freedom, a socialist reconstruction of society, for the most just of causes...happiness for the entire people, communism. Our great party of Communists has been and is continuing to implement this.

As far back as the beginning of the century, at the dawn of our party's birth, Lenin used to say: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we shall transform all of Russia" (Lenin's works, Volume 5, page 435). Only 240,000 brave revolutionaries were in the ranks of the Leninist party when the party in October 1917 led the masses of workers and peasants to storm capitalism. The CPSU has now grown into a powerful political army uniting about eight million members and candidates.

Lenin, his followers and companions in arms were creating the Communist Party as a party of a new type on the granite ideological basis of Marxism, basing themselves on the growing Russian revolutionary workers' movement, as well as on the whole of the historic experience of the international worker movement. Speaking of this, Lenin wrote in 1920: "Russia has truly come to Marxism as the only right revolutionary theory through a half-century of unprecedented suffering and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary terrorism, unbelievable energy and supreme quest, learning practical experience, disillusionment, checking and comparison with the experience of Europe" (Volume 31, page 9).

In conditions of unbelievable oppression of tsarist despotism, arbitrariness and force, by making innumerable sacrifices, passing through glorious victories and temporary defeats, our glorious Communist Party has proved by great deeds the unshakable devotion to the Red Communist banner, Marxist-Leninist teaching, boundless devotion to its people, the international workers' movement and the sacred principles of proletarian internationalism.

Herein lies the source of our party's strength and success, the love and respect for it on the part of USSR workers, peasants and intelligentsia, on the part of everything that is honest and progressive in the world. Nobody will ever succeed in shaking this respect and love.

It is not accidental that in the most difficult period of the revolution and the civil and fatherland wars the highest influx of workers and peasants to their Communist Party occurred. This was the case of the eve of the Great October when the decisive battle against capitalism was begun.

It also happened in one of the most difficult moments of the civil war in October 1919 when about 200,000 workers and peasants entered the (ranks of the party in one week?)

Lenin's death was a heavy loss for the party and the people, and in answer to this, 240,000 leading workers joined their party in order to help to carry out Lenin's behests. At the time of the great battle near Stalingrad from September 1942 to Feb. 1, 1943, 832,000 workers and peasants joined the party. This expresses the people's confidence in their party as an experienced organizer and leader and the indissoluble links between the party and the people in the most difficult moments of struggle for the cause of socialism.

The historic experience of the building of socialism in the USSR teaches that the building and development of a socialist society are complex processes connected with the overcoming of numerous difficulties, differences, opposition on the part of the deposed classes, the overcoming of old habits, customs, petty bourgeois and bourgeois, as well as anti-socialist tendencies. Only by having a vanguard of the proletariat hardened in battles, the Communist Party, which knows how to look boldly ahead, to understand and apply correctly and scientifically the laws of the building and development of a new society, were the Soviet people able to overcome successfully the greatest difficulties on their path and to achieve a victory.

The building of socialism and communism is the creation of the people's masses themselves. The creative efforts of millions of workers, peasants and intelligentsia are being merged by the Communist Party into a single stream and directed at the common, great aim.

Through its primary organizations, through transmission belts from the party to masses, the soviets which represent all the working people from town and village, trade unions which unite almost all workers and employees, cooperatives which unite peasants and craft workers, the Komsomol which unites about 20 million youths and girls of our country, through various societies and organizations of workers the party influences all the aspects of life of the Soviet people and leads all the branches of economic and cultural construction.

Both at present and in conditions of completing the construction of socialism and the gradual transition from socialism to communism, the Communist Party unites, organizes, educates and inspires the Soviet people and leads them forward to new victories.

The Communist Party is the heart of the whole of the creative activity of the people, the great architect of the communist society.

Therefore he who tries intentionally or unintentionally to weaken the leading role of the Communist Party in one sphere or another helps the enemies of communism.

One of the most important conditions for the successful activity of the Communist Party as far as the guidance of the people's masses is concerned is its ideological and organizational unity.

During the many years of its long history, the CPSU has been waging a battle for unity and against the factional activity of anti-Marxist groups and anarchist elements which were striving to undermine the party's discipline.

The Communist Party was able to head the world-historic cause of the struggle for socialism in our country and to insure its victory thanks to its intolerance of all sorts of revisionist and dogmatic-sectarian views alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The party unmasked and destroyed such hostile currents as Menshevism, the Social Revolutionary movement, Trotskyism, the right-wing tendencies, bourgeois nationalism and others, otherwise neither the conquest of political power by the working class nor the building of a socialist society would have been possible.

"In Russia," Lenin wrote, "there were often difficult situations when the Soviet regime would have been surely overthrown had the Mensheviks, reformists and small-bourgeois democrats remained inside our party" (Volume 31, page 358).

In 1920, V. I. Lenin wrote that it was impossible to wage a struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society successfully without an "iron" party hardened in struggle, most strictly disciplined and centralized.

When antiparty elements within the party insisted on the freedom of factions and groups and denied equal party discipline for leaders and rank-and-file, the 10th Congress passed a resolution on the unity of the party which gave the Central Committee the power, in cases of violation of discipline or rebirth and toleration of factionism, to apply all methods of party reprimand, including expulsion; and as far as members of the Central Committee were concerned, their demotion to candidates and even, as an extreme measure, expulsion from the party.

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The Communist Party and the entire Soviet people have unanimously condemned the sectarian, factional activity of the antiparty group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, and Shepilov, who joined them. This anti-party group, which broke away from the party and people, was against the line taken by the 20th CPSU Congress, aimed at a relaxation of international tension, all the new steps taken to improve the workers' living standards, the reclamation of virgin lands, the appeal to catch up with the United States in the per capita production of animal produce, the reorganization of management in industry, and other important measures.

The unanimous denunciation of the antiparty group has once more confirmed the fact that, with the liquidation of the hostile and antagonistic classes in our country, such moral and political unity of the socialist society has been created that no antiparty group whatsoever, under whatever banner it might act, could count on the support of the party or the people.

The CPSU did not hesitate to begin a struggle against the personality cult of J.V. Stalin, which has done much harm to the activities of the party and to the cause of communist construction, and to condemn the errors permitted by him during the last period of his activities, in order to eliminate a possibility of repeating similar errors. The party has sharply criticized the violation of Lenin's norms of party life, the drafting away (otkhozh) from Lenin's principles of collective leadership and intraparty democracy, and the violation of socialist legality. The liquidation of these violations has strengthened our party and raised still higher its prestige among the toiling masses.

The constant, daily contact with the broad people's masses and the solicitude for the needs and welfare of the people are the most supreme laws in party activities. The Communist Party, this truly popular party, has no other interests than the interests of the people. Therefore, the Soviet people have and always have had confidence in it. They support its policy as their own, because this policy is a scientific expression of its fundamental and daily interests. There is inviolable unity between the Communist Party and the Soviet people and in it lies the source of strength of the party and the people.

The unity of the party and the people is a reliable guarantee of the might of socialist society and a pledge for the successful construction of communism. As long as the bond between the party and the people is unbreakable, the forces of socialism have nothing to fear from any storms and tempests, or any malicious and slanderous propaganda of the enemies of communism. Therefore it is necessary to cherish the party's and the people's unity as a sacred thing. Not only to teach the masses but also to learn from the masses and from their living experience in creating a new life--this is the most important belief of Leninism. Whoever forgets it suffers a defeat.

XXI.

The ability of the Marxist party to apply (creatively?) the theory of the revolution to the solution of new tasks promoted by the development of life itself and by practice is a sign of its vitality, strength, and maturity. The CPSU, contrary to the revisionists and dogmatists of the second international and contrary to the revisionists and dogmatists of our time, produces models of creative application of Marxism and Leninism to the solution of the tasks of our epoch, the tasks of a struggle for communism, for peace and against a war, for a true and not a false democracy, and for the welfare and happiness of the people.

The history of the workers movement teaches that parties and persons who betray Marxism are doomed to bankruptcy. On the contrary, parties remaining loyal to Marxism-Leninism and knowing how to apply it to the most complex contemporary problems in spite of any difficulties and temporary setbacks will, in the end, win over their opponents.

The revisionist elements allege that no Marxism exists to conform with the contemporary epoch and someone must create it anew. Such statements often are masked by "solicitude" for the further development of Marxism, but in fact they are dictated by aims quite different and remote from Marxism. History proves that Marxism of the contemporary epoch has won and is winning great, unprecedented historic victories and all true fighters for socialism in all countries are justly proud of them.

Contemporary Marxism is Marxism that was creatively developed by Lenin, tested and enriched by the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and by the construction of socialism and communism in the USSR, by the experience of the great Chinese revolution, and by the construction of socialism in all countries where the working class is in power. This is a Marxism that is daily developed by the CPSU and all fraternal communist and worker parties which are struggling against imperialism and against the yoke of capitalism.

The decisions and the materials of the 20th CPSU Congress are among the outstanding examples of the creative development of Marxism and Leninism. They have produced a program for a further struggle for peace and the construction of communism in the USSR. The decisions of the 20th Congress are of paramount importance for the entire international communist and worker movement.

Any dogmatism and desire to make practical deductions and conclusions, not from an analysis of life and of processes of life, but from memorized theoretical theses, is profoundly alien to the spirit of Marxist theory, because then Marxism, this eternally living and developing teaching, is turned into a sum of dead and frozen dogmas.

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Conservatism, unwillingness or inability to see the new historic conditions, the new situation, or the use of ossified formulas divorced from real life inevitably lead to bankruptcy of policy.

Lenin saw in our party the wisdom, honor, and conscience of our epoch. By its more than half-century struggle at the head of the popular masses against bloody tsarism, imperialism, and all the forces of reaction and war, and for communism, the people (basic?) interests, and the interests of working humanity, the Communist Party showed its greatest wisdom, sagacity, and farsightedness.

The imperialist bourgeoisie in the past 50 years twice plunged mankind into bloody destructive world wars, while now it wages little wars in one or another part of the world against peoples. The CPSU has always boldly exposed the intrigues of the enemies of peace and raised the peoples against the instigators and organizers of war by unmasking them whenever possible. Today, by its bold and principled policy, the CPSU exposes the intrigues of imperialists, the enemies of peace, munitions kings, newly emerged skinflints who have learned to turn the blood and sufferings of peoples into gold and dollars, threatening mankind with the most destructive war by the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The enemies of communism, the enemies of peace and progress, the enemies of democracy and freedom fiercely hate our party because it is the bearer and expounder of the great truth of our epoch. But for this reason it is loved and respected by the peoples of the world, by the working people and oppressed of all countries, and by all progressive people on all continents. Therein lies its invincible force.

XII. The Great October Socialist Revolution inaugurated a new era in the relations between state and peoples. In its foreign policy as in its internal affairs, the socialist state is guided by the interests of the working people of the USSR which coincide with the interests of the working people of all countries.

The principal aim of the foreign policy of the Soviet state is the maintenance of peace, the development of relations of equality of rights, based on mutual respect, among all states, and the establishment of friendship and cooperation among all peoples.

In the historic peace decree written by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and adopted by the second all-Russia congress of the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies on Nov. 8, 1917, the Soviet state called upon the warring powers to stop the war, to conclude a just and democratic peace, and appealed to all peoples to take the cause of insuring peace into their own hands.

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The declaration of rights of the peoples of Russia, published a week later, set out a program of truly friendly and equal relations among nationalities. These documents formed the basis of the Soviet state's peace-loving policy which, contrary to the assertions of bourgeois slanderers, was never changed out of considerations of expediency, but remained constant and consistent in its defense of peace and the interests of peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

The first years of the existence of the Soviet state were marked by a successful struggle to insure peace on its frontiers, and in the establishment of relations of equality with peoples of the East. Having liquidated the unequal treaties imposed by Tsarist Russia, the Soviet state laid the foundations of true friendship between the peoples of Asia and Africa and the Soviet Union. Having become a mighty industrial power, the socialist state not only extends to these countries moral and political support in their struggle for gaining, preserving, and strengthening their independence, but also helps them in the creation of the economic basis of independence, in building up industry, in developing agriculture.

In a socialist society, there exist no classes or social groups interested in wars or the armaments race. The striving for profits, for the capture of foreign territory or markets is organically alien to the Soviet state. As far back as April 1922, at the Genoa conference of the Great Powers, Soviet Russia introduced a proposal aimed at a general reduction in armaments. When for the first time it participated in the fourth session of the preparatory commission of the Disarmament Conference of 1927 the Soviet Union introduced a plan of general, total, and immediate disarmament. Throughout the years preceding the World War II, the USSR consistently opposed the armaments race, exposing the desire of war industry monopolies in Germany, the United States, and Britain to arm Hitler and impel him eastward against the Soviet Union.

After the World War II the Soviet Union repeatedly raised through the United Nations Organization the question of disarmament, of the reduction of armaments and armed forces. In recent years, when atomic, and later the even more destructive thermonuclear, hydrogen weapons made their appearance, the USSR introduced a proposal to ban the use of mass-destruction weapons, to stop test explosions of nuclear weapons which poison the atmosphere and which constitute danger for future generations as well.

The great Lenin proclaimed and substantiated the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems. In its foreign policy, the socialist state has been invariably guided by this Leninist principle. Having repelled the attack of bourgeois states, it proposed the establishment of normal relations, to deploy trade, and to expand cultural relations.

The Soviet Union has always been ready to cooperate with those forces in the capitalist world which are interested in the maintenance of peace. Before the World War II it proposed establishing a collective security system in order to warn Hitlerite Germany against unleashing war. It was ready to extend military assistance to countries threatened by aggression. If its efforts have not been crowned with success, the reason was that Hitlerite Germany was in collusion with reactionary circles in the United States, Britain, and France which dreamed of stifling the first socialist state with Hitler's hands.

However, the interests of competing monopolist groups gained the upper hand over the class interests, and Hitler's Germany preferred to deal a blow first at France and Britain. World War II, which had changed from an imperialist war to an antifascist war of liberation, showed that the capitalist and socialist countries cannot only coexist but can also cooperate, even in the military field.

However, the routing and the destruction of German national socialism, Italian fascism, and Japanese militarism did not lead to the defeat of the monopolist reactionary forces in the main capitalist countries. Having become rich in this war, and having strengthened their position still more, these reactionary forces again launched a struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which emerged as a result of World War II.

The ruling circles of the United States and their militant diplomacy began to encircle socialist countries with military bases and aggressive military blocs. The North Atlantic bloc appeared in the west, the Baghdad bloc in the Middle East, and the Asian bloc in Southeast Asia.

The (role?) of the main striking force is again given to the German militarist-revanchists who seized power in Western Germany. Reviving the war machine of the German imperialism, the United States, British and French ruling circles are acting contrary to the national interests of their countries, are playing with fire, and are conniving in the sinister revanchist plans of the German militarists who are dreaming of a new war. The peoples of Europe, and in the first place, those of the countries neighboring West Germany, are even to a greater extent realizing the danger of such a policy.

The patriotic forces of the European countries resolutely support the proposal on the USSR on the creation in Europe of a system pan-European collective security, which could insure peace on the continent of Europe and help the German people to find the practicable way to the reestablishment of a single German state.

The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries have been and are consistently taking a stand for a peaceful solution of all disputable international problems. The USSR has proved this by its incessant struggle for a peaceful settlement of the German question, by signing a state treaty with Austria, and by the liquidation of her military bases on the territory of other countries. Together with the Chinese People's Republic, and basing herself on the mass movement in defense of peace, the Soviet Union attained the cessation of military operations by the imperialists in Korea and Vietnam. She took a resolute stand against the Anglo-French-Israeli imperialists who with the support of the United States made an armed attack against Egypt.

XXIII.

In the last 40 years the Soviet Union has become a decisive factor in international politics. The international positions of the Soviet Union are firm and unshakable, not only because she possesses an impressive economic and military power, but also because in international affairs the Soviet position has always coincided with that of the wide popular masses in all countries.

Thus, the Soviet demand for the prohibition of atomic weapons was put forward on the desire of the popular masses, and it was energetically supported by them. The Stockholm appeal for the prohibition of atomic weapons which was signed by many hundreds of millions of men showed how timely and correct the Soviet proposal was.

Taking into account the wish of the people's masses, the Soviet Union submitted a proposal to ban the atomic and hydrogen weapons and to immediately terminate their tests. The movement for the prohibition of the tests of the hydrogen weapons, which has spread now through all countries and all strata of population, including most prominent scientists, confirmed the correctness and timeliness of the Soviet initiative.

The struggle of the Soviet Union for peace, for the peaceful coexistence and economic competition of states with different social systems cannot fail to coincide--and actually does coincide--with the drive of the peoples for the preservation and consolidation of peace, because the working people in all countries want peace, want the ending of the armament race, which would naturally lead to a reduction of the burden of military taxation and to improvement of the people's well-being. A stable peace is in accord with the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind, irrespective of the existing differences in the social system, political convictions, and creeds.

The aspiration of the broad popular masses for peace led in our days to the formation of a vast "zone of peace" comprising both socialist and nonsocialist peace-loving states in Europe and Asia, whose total population amounts to about 1.5 billion people.

The movement of peace partisans is gaining ground in all countries without exception, and is one of the most massive and progressive movements of our time. War is not a fate ordained as inevitable in our time. The dark forces of imperialist reaction, the capitalist monopolies, interested in the armament race and in aggressive wars, are opposed by such states and peoples as are inspired by the noble task of bridling the organizers of military adventures, and saving mankind from fresh countless sacrifices and devastation.

The consolidation of the worldwide socialist system, the consistent peaceful policy of the socialist countries, and the universal growth of the movement of peace partisans are handicapping the aggressors and hindering the unleashing of a new war. But should the forces of imperialism dare, even so, to unleash a new world war, they would have to face such an indignation and opposition of the peoples as would lead to the final collapse of the entire capitalist system.

D.

The influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the historic fate of mankind.

XXIV.

The October Socialist Revolution was a great upheaval not only in the life of peoples of the USSR, but it influenced decisively the entire course of world history, the historic destinies all mankind. The October Revolution became the turning point in the development of the world liberation movement, gave the workers of the world fresh strength and confidence in their final victory and evoked unprecedented upsurge in the national liberation movement of colonial and dependent countries. In the October Revolution all the people saw an inspiring example and in the regime created by it they saw a model of that future for which the working people of the world were striving.

Today the path which was marked by the October Revolution has been embarked upon by the great Chinese people and the working people of a number of countries in Europe and Asia. The victory of the socialist revolution in China and other people's democracies is the most important event in world history since October 1917.

While prior to World War II only 17 percent of the territory of the earth, about nine percent of the world's population and about one-tenth of the world industrial production were shared by the socialist system, at present the socialist countries occupy 25 percent of the territory of the earth, with the population on this territory constituting about 35 percent of the world's population; about one-third of the world's industrial production comes from this area. The defection from the system of world capitalism of the countries which have, together with the USSR, created a united socialist camp has radically changed the balance of the forces of socialism and capitalism in favor of socialism. The growth of the might and unity of the socialist camp further strengthens the position of socialism and the progressive forces of the world.

The strength of the camp of socialism lies in the community of interests of the countries comprising it, in the unity of their ideology and final aims. Precisely on the basis of this community of interests between the peoples, governments and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries relations have been established which are characterized by strong fraternal ties, mutual exchange of experience, close economic cooperation, and friendly mutual aid. Such relations between the countries of the socialist camp emanate as naturally from the social economic nature of socialism as the relations of rivalry and hostility emanate between the capitalist countries from the nature of capitalism.

The principle of proletarian internationalism is embedded in the indestructible commonwealth of the countries of the socialist camp. No socialist country can remain outside this fraternal and mutual assistance for it would harm its own interests since close economic and political mutual aid of the socialist countries facilitates a more rapid development of each country and safeguards its security.

Being the first country of victorious socialism and the most powerful one in the family of socialist countries possessing rich experience, the Soviet Union is constantly rendering aid and support to other socialist countries in the fulfillment of its international duty. The peoples of these countries see in the USSR a bulwark of socialism and entertain toward it feelings of fraternal appreciation and friendship which the enemies of socialism will be unable to weaken.

XXV.

The creative mastery of the experience of the October Revolution now makes it easier to move along the path to socialism for all the countries which have defected from the capitalist system.

The leader of the great Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung, said: Precisely by following the path of the Great October Socialist Revolution our Chinese people have achieved the present victories and successes. The Chinese people have always regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the October socialist revolution and consider it a great honor.

The world wide historic importance of the 40-year experience of the October Revolution lies in the fact that it has laid the highway to socialism and has brought to the fore those common traits and laws which are applicable in the case of all countries marching to socialism. In 1920 Lenin said: We have already acquired a very substantial international experience--which says most clearly that some basic traits of our revolution are not only of local, peculiarly national, or Russian, but of international importance.

As witnessed by the historical experience of the development of the socialist countries, the common traits and laws of development of the victory of the socialist revolution and of the creation of a new socialist society are the following: the conquest by the working class of political power; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy for the working people with the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party; the union of the working class and the main masses of the peasantry and other strata of workers; the liquidation of national subjugation and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between the peoples; the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the establishment of socialist public ownership of the basic means of production; planned development of industry and the economy in general aimed at the construction of socialism and communism and at the raising of the living standards of the working people; gradual socialist transformation of agriculture; the strengthening and development of the socialist state and the development of socialist democracy; the defense of the gains of socialism against attempts by external and internal class enemies; the solidarity of the working class of a given country with the working class in other countries struggling for the triumph of the ideas of socialism and communism; and proletarian internationalism.

The October Revolution debunked all kinds of reformist and opportunist theories which assert that it is possible to build socialism without the political leadership of society on the part of the working class, without the dictatorship of the working class, by way of capitalism gradually growing into socialism. Socialist revolution and the establishment of the political power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, constitutes--as historical experience has shown - the principal condition for the socialist transformation of society.

As regard the ways of the conquest of power by the working class, the means and pace of socialist reforms and the aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they not only can, but will have their own characteristics depending on the concrete conditions of development of different countries.

Marxism-Leninism states that the different characteristics of the road traversed by each country do not exclude the community of certain fundamental traits and laws of socialist revolution in the construction of socialism and communism. The views of those who stress the national peculiarities of each country marching to socialism and who are oblivious to the general, fundamental and radical principles of socialist revolution, are profoundly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

XXVI.

The full strength of the turning point of world historic significance occurring in the development of the fate of mankind, which was begun by the October Revolution of 1917, is also felt in that portion of the world which is still subject to capitalism. The very fact of the existence of the world socialist system, the advantages of socialism over capitalism, greatly increase the strength of the proletariat in capitalist countries in its class struggle against capitalism. Fear of a socialist revolution forces the bourgeoisie, while intensifying its repression of the revolutionary workers' movement, to sometimes make concessions to the workers demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and so on.

The state of organization and the political consciousness of the working class is growing. In major capitalist countries such as France and Italy, the majority of organized workers support the Communist parties. Where in 1917, on the eve of the October Revolution, the number of Communists in Russia did not exceed a quarter of a million, while in other countries there only existed small groups close to the Communists, now there are over 33 million people in the ranks of the communist parties. This is evidence of the undoubtedly natural growth of the influence of Communist ideas and of the development of the Communist movement.

The Great October Socialist Revolution dealt a crushing blow to bourgeois ideology, to opportunism in the workers' movement, to social chauvinism, and to reactionary nationalism. Many millions of working people placed themselves under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The intensification of differences in capitalism, the weakening of the positions of reactionary bourgeoisie, the extended crisis of reformist parties, led to a weakening of the influence of rightwing leaders of social democracy among working people. The working class, gravitation to unity in the struggle against the power of capital, for peace, democracy and socialism, is growing stronger. This creates conditions for overcoming the split in the workers' movement, without which the working class cannot gain power. Now that there exists a mighty camp of socialist countries, that the colonial system of imperialism is breaking up, that bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are becoming more and more bankrupt, favorable conditions have been created in a number of capitalist countries for rallying the peasantry and the wide masses of the people around the working class. The struggle against reaction and fascism, the experience of unity of action of democratic forces realized in a number of countries, shows the enormous possibilities of the disposal of a wide democratic movement, headed by the working class, in our days.

Imperialism, however, through its ideologists, politicians, and journalists--its entire propaganda machine--far from ending its attack on Marxism-Leninism socialism as a teaching and as a social and economic system, is intensifying them. The ideological diversions of the forces of reaction against the Communist movement have lately been reflected in the spreading of the pernicious ideas of so-called national communism, in the spreading of all kinds of revisionist sallies inside Communist parties.

As in the past, so also at present, revisionism has an international character. In its social essence it is the result of influence and pressure by the bourgeoisie on a given portion of the working class and, under present day conditions, it is also the result of the influence of bourgeois reformist ideology of rightwing socialists on an unstable portion of Communists. What are the principal features characteristic of present-day revisionism?

First of all, there is a renunciation of the bases of Marxism to a greater or lesser extent; the liquidation of the capitalist ownership of the means of production and its replacement by public ownership; the rejection of the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat; the rejection of the teaching on the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism and communism, and in sliding to a position of bourgeois democratism.

In Hungary Imre Nagy, especially, clearly displayed this aspect of revisionism and slid down to complete treachery to the cause of socialism. It is a characteristic trait of contemporary revisionism to deviate from the principles of proletarian internationalism and to change over to the position of undermining the unity of the socialist camp, and to nationalist positions. Revisionism denies some basic common traits and rules of natural development and regularities in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The slogan of national communism put forward by Dulles and other ideologists of imperialism aims to split the commonwealth of socialist countries, to have one country oppose another, and especially to have them oppose the Soviet Union. The aim of this conspiracy of the international bourgeoisie is clear. It would like to weaken the world system of socialism and to strengthen the international positions of capitalism. The communist and workers parties are waging a struggle against the harmful influence of contemporary revisionism to give a worthy rebuff.

XXVII.

The attracting force of the example of the Soviet Union, which has completely destroyed national inequality, and the flourishing of the republics of the Soviet (east!) have inspired the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries to a struggle for liberation. The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the beginning of a deep crisis of the colonial system of imperialism, and opened a new historic page of the emancipation of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the formation of independent sovereign states in the countries of the east and their national renascence.

After World War II, which ended in the route of the fascist aggressors and weakening the strength of the international reaction, the crisis of the colonial system became even more pronounced, and this shameful system of imperialist oppression began to disintegrate under the increased pressure of the national struggle of liberation of the peoples.

One of the most striking manifestations of the disintegration of the colonial system was the victory of the great Chinese people over the forces of imperialist and internal feudal reaction, and the formation of the Chinese People's Republic. The liberation from colonial dependence of over 1.3 billion people, which is half the population of the earth, and the formation of such large independent states as China, India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt, and Syria, signifies the advent of a new period of history -foreseen by Lenin-- the period of the awakening of the peoples of the East, who themselves decide their destinies and who actively participate in the solution of the destinies of all mankind.

The attempts of the imperialist states to slow down the deterioration of the colonial system through various means, beginning with the unleashing of colonial wars against the peace-loving peoples of Asia and Africa, and ending with (intervention?) in the affairs of sovereign states under the pretext of economic and military aid, cannot change the progress of history and prevent the unavoidable collapse of the colonial order. The successful repulse of the imperialist interventionists in Korea, China, and Indonesia, and the failure of the Anglo-French adventure in Egypt testify to the progressive weakening of the positions of imperialism.

The existence of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, which strongly defend Lenin's principle of the self-determination of nations, helps to a great extent the struggle of all oppressed peoples for their national independence and against colonialism. The peoples of yesterday's colonies and semicolonies, who took the path of independent progress, have the opportunity to find selfless support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in their struggle to consolidate their economic and political independence and in their struggle against imperialist plots and adventures.

The international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened new and bright horizons to mankind, and which raised high the banner of the struggle for social and national liberation, the banner of communism, is growing every year. Now the fact that the socialist revolution is not merely a Russian experiment, as asserted by the bourgeois ideologists, is irrefutably confirmed, not only in theory but in life itself. The prophetic words of Lenin have come true: "Our socialist republic of the Soviets will stand firmly as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all the masses of working people."

The events of the expiring 40-year period testify to the fact that it is the socialist reconstruction of society alone that can lead mankind out of the impasse into which capitalism has led it and solve the mature social problems with which mankind is confronted in this epoch. It is socialism alone that can open unlimited opportunities for the development of the productive forces, put an end to the economic crises, unemployment, the poverty of the working people, the threat of new destructive wars and insure a stable peace for the peoples. Only socialism and communism open for mankind the prospects of a boundless development of science and technology, of literature and art, and of the overall development of the human personality.

Since the middle of the 20th Century the prospects for the development of the socialist and capitalist systems have become completely clear. The capitalist system, once progressive in comparison with other systems, has long exceeded its hey-day. Contemporary capitalism is moribund and rotting. It is experiencing its dusk, its eclipse and is irresistibly heading toward its inevitable end. Against it the young, youthfully vigorous socialist system is progressing along the path of its unswerving, unfolding upsurge. The mighty tread of the new socialist world will become ever more stradfast and firm with every year, with every elapsing five-year period. While preparing themselves for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the working class, the collective farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia are rallying even closer around their own Communist Party and Soviet Government and will mark the significant date with fresh achievements in all the sectors of the economic and cultural construction--with new victories along the path of the majestic advance of Soviet society toward communism.